

MOZAMBIQUE

REVOLUTION



MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION

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EDITORIAL

the coming victory 1

INVASION OF GUINEA

the lesson for Africa 3

WAR COMMUNIQUE

big offensive defeated 6

PORTUGUESE ATROCITIES IN MOZAMBIQUE

UN hears the evidence 8

CAHORA BASSA: WHY WE SAY NO 13

THE STRUGGLE IN NIASSA PROVINCE

by Niassa's military commander 15

JOURNEY WITH A CAMERA

british film-makers in Mozambique 18

ONCE THEY CAME WITH SWEETS AND GIFTS

portuguese psychological warfare 20

STREAMLINED EXPLOITATION

caetano calls it 'autonomy' 23

Back cover: A Mozambican sculpture depicting the «mashila»,
the way the 'vakoloni' used to travel in our
country.

EDITORIAL

the coming victory

If we wished to draw one major lesson from the year 1970, we could say that it was the year when the certainty of our final victory became absolutely clear even to the most sceptical of observers. Such certainty has been confirmed by considerable evidence and based upon a wide range of factors, some connected with the internal dynamics of the struggle itself, others with the international situation.

Thus it was in this year that the situation precipitated by the assassination of the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, in 1969 was definitively solved. The hesitations, the doubts, concerning the future of FRELIMO which had naturally arisen when Comrade Mondlane passed from the scene were finally resolved with the decisions of the Central Committee in May of this year. In that historic meeting the Central Committee issued fundamental directives concerning the political and military development of the struggle. First, the Committee repudiated the opportunistic and corrupt line which, as represented by Uria Simango, the former Vice-President, had threatened to impose itself upon the movement. Second, it reaffirmed the centrality of revolutionary objectives and methods of work to our struggle. Finally, it elected a new President Comrade Samora Machel, and a new Vice-President, Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, both of whom had been members of the Council of the Presidency. In doing so it based its choice upon the fact that these comrades enjoyed the confidence of the people, and that they had, by their consistently revolutionary positions, offered proof of their ability to lead our struggle in a manner consistent with the goals and aspirations of the people. Thus the harmony, confidence and ideological unity of FRELIMO was restored.

Indeed, it was just that unity and internal consolidation which, by giving new strength to FRELIMO, enabled us to confront successfully the savage Portuguese offensive launched against our liberated areas in June. In this operation the Portuguese used between 35,000 and 50,000 troops, supported by air-force, armoured cars heavy artillery, and special corps. Yet ultimately they were forced to flee from our zones after suffering immense losses in men and war material. Their defeat was such that the Prime Minister of Portugal, Caetano himself, sought to save face by declaring in his speech to the National Assembly on 2nd December that «in this campaign the principal aspect is not the military operations . . . death is an inevitable dimension of war . . . what matters is to convince the population to be faithful to Portugal.»

From our own perspective, however, one thing was much more important than the casualties which the offensive enabled us to inflict upon the enemy. This was the demonstration of fighting spirit and determination on the part of our fighters and our people. When the war started in 1964 the reprisals of the Portuguese terrorists drove many of the population to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. But now, in spite of the fact that this offensive was much more ferocious and undertaken on a far bigger scale than that previous one, there were no people who fled from their zones; they merely asked for more weapons with which to defend their camps, their schools and hospitals, and their freedom. In short, it was precisely through the combined action of the guerrillas and the people that the colonialists were repelled. This is the clearest possible indication that our struggle, based on the full support of the people, will inevitably succeed.

Meanwhile, in Portugal, the anti-colonialist and anti-fascist forces have begun to act, in that way weakening the rearguard of the enemy and making an important contribution to our own efforts. In the past few months the Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA), a Portuguese organisation, sabotaged several ships in the port of Lisbon which were due to leave for the colonies carrying troops and war material. Bombs were placed in the

headquarters of the DGS (the new name given to PIDE, the Portuguese secret police) and in the US cultural centre in Lisbon, and these caused extensive damage. Two trains carrying troops freshly returned from Guinea were derailed in the outskirts of Lisbon.

At the same time demoralisation grows within the Portuguese army. Thousands of young Portuguese have run away from Portugal, refusing to be recruited for the colonial war. Others desert. The number of deserters is so high, even among officers, that the Portuguese Minister of Defence threatened to end the special consideration which has been given to university students concerning their recruitment «if the desertions continue». Obviously this will make military service even more unpopular among the Portuguese people. Faced with defeats in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique and now with guerrillas who attack from within, confronted by the complete demoralisation of his army and isolated on the international plane, Caetano's regime cannot last much longer.

Caetano himself is well aware of this. As a result 1970 found him desperately seeking any remedies which he thought could delay the final fall of colonialism. One of these was the «big offensive». Another the attempted invasion of Guinea. Still another the announcement of the «big reforms». Yet so weak is his position that these measures have backfired and his hopes have been frustrated.

For without question the attempted invasion of Guinea, like the Mozambique offensive, was another major defeat for Portuguese colonialism. The reasons for the attack itself are very clear, of course. Threatened with the loss of the last vestiges of control over Guinea-Bissau by the victories in that country of the fighters of PAIGC, Caetano is unable or unwilling to recognise the real reasons for his defeat — the fact that the war in Guinea-Bissau, like the struggles in Angola and Mozambique, is a people's war and a revolutionary war. Instead he lays the blame on neighbouring countries. This is not a new attitude; Nixon also attacks North Vietnam, alleging that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is responsible for the defeats the nationalists of South Vietnam inflict upon his troops. The failed Portuguese invasion had only one result, however, it convinced even those African countries who have been prepared to pursue a «dialogue» with Portugal and South Africa that there can be no security for them while the Portuguese presence continues in Africa and while the white fascist minority regime continues to rule South Africa. Thus African unity against Portuguese colonialism and South African fascism has been reinforced.

Then as 1970 drew to a close, there came the promise of so-called «autonomy» for the colonies; Caetano announced constitutional reforms which, according to him, will lead eventually to such a result for the «Portuguese Overseas Territories». Even a superficial analysis shows that any relation between these «reforms» and real autonomy is pure coincidence. They are merely minor administrative adjustments aimed at facilitating the continued exploitation of the colonies while at the same time, as a publicity manoeuvre, bidding for badly-needed international support. There is no other reality behind the word «autonomy». Moreover, as must be made perfectly clear, even if there were more content to these reforms that would be irrelevant to us. For we are fighting to regain our total independence. We fight so that our people will be able to freely choose their leaders, to decide on their political orientation and on their social and economic structures. Anything short of this is absolutely unacceptable. Therefore the fact that Caetano felt it necessary to talk of autonomy at this moment is significant in only one respect: as evidence of the intense pressures to which he is now being subjected.

Significantly these pressures are international as well as internal. In fact the year 1970 represented a decisive step forward in the isolation of Portuguese colonialism and its widespread denunciation. We can mention only a few of the most relevant facts here. Thus in February the Dutch Parliament passed a resolution condemning the Dutch government for its support to Portuguese colonialism. In June an international Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies was held in Rome with the participation of 350 delegates representing 177 organisations from 64 countries. On the first day of July the Pope received the leaders of PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA in a private audience. The World Council of Churches announced in September its support to the liberation struggles, and granted a substantial amount of funds to several liberation movements, including FRELIMO. Another foreign company, this time from Italy, withdrew from the Cahora Bassa project after diplomatic representations from President Kaunda of Zambia to convince the countries involved in that imperialist scheme to desist from their participation. The Summit Conference of the OAU and of the Non-Aligned countries pledged in stronger terms than in the past to step up the fight against Portuguese colonialism. And finally, though in this case more routinely, Portugal was once again condemned at the United Nations by an almost unanimous vote of the member states.

We see therefore that 1970 provided our struggle with new and important dimensions. All of them clearly foreshadow the collapse of Portuguese colonialism. As the President of FRELIMO said in his New Year message to the Mozambican people: «The days of Portuguese colonialism are numbered. We must intensify our struggle in order to hasten its fall».

INVASION OF GUINEA: THE LESSON FOR AFRICA



On the night of the 21st to 22nd November 1970, nine navy vessels, with Portuguese crew and including 3 submarines, entered the territorial waters of the Republic of Guinea, and anchored near Conakry.

Under the cover of night, 380 armed men left the ships in rubber boats, and at about 2.a.m. disembarked on the beaches of Conakry. There were :-

- 150 mercenaries of different nationalities, many of them citizens of the Republic of Guinea itself,
- 150 soldiers from the Portuguese army in Guinea-Bissau most of them Africans, and
- 80 marines, whites, from the Portuguese army.

Coming from Guinea-Bissau and organised in commandos, each group was to attack a predetermined strategic objective: the two military barracks of Samory and Boiro, President Sekou Toure's summer house, «Bellevue», the offices and houses of the leaders of PAIGC, the Government palace, the central electricity station, the Radio, the airport and so on. They carried with them maps of Conakry on which these targets were clearly indicated.

The attackers quickly succeeded in occupying a certain number of strategic points: the 2 military barracks of Conakry, and the electricity station. The prison was assaulted and criminals released, while the house of President Sekou Toure was sacked and burnt (though the President was not in it). The bandits also attacked the offices and houses of the leaders of PAIGC, but in error they concentrated their attack on neighbouring houses — a fact which explains why the PAIGC did not suffer any losses at this stage.

Meanwhile, after the first moments of surprise had passed and it became apparent what was happening, the people started to organise for defence. The Guinean militia and the army counter-attacked. Enemy assaults on the airport, the radio and the police station failed and there was heavy fighting around these places. Enemy planes flying over Conakry and ready to land if the invasion succeeded, were finally forced to fly back, though not before they had dropped some bombs on Conakry.

From Radio Conakry President Sekou Toure appealed to the nation to resist. Units of PAIGC participated in the defence of Conakry from the dawn of the 22nd November and made an important contribution to the defeat of the invasion. Thus by the afternoon of the 22nd, it was already clear that the

invasion had failed.

At about 4 p.m. the barracks of Samory was recaptured and passed back into the hands of the Guinean army. Other strategic points were retaken – the electricity station, the barracks of Boiro, etc. – the combat lasted three days in all, until the 24th of November. The invaders suffered 157 killed and 125 prisoners were taken, amongst whom 28 were wounded. Koundara, a town in the northern part of the Republic of Guinea near the border with Guinea-Bissau had also been attacked. But there the Portuguese forces were annihilated within a few hours.

Thus ended one of the biggest acts of international gangsterism in recorded history; Portugal had suffered a major defeat.

The invasion of the Republic of Guinea was an operation that had been long in preparation. For a long time one of Portugal's main aims has been to eliminate the external supports of the national liberation movements from the Portuguese colonies; as represented by the progressive governments of the neighbouring African countries. On many occasions Portugal mined roads, destroyed bridges, bombed villages and violated the land and air space of Senegal, Guinea, Tanzania, Zambia, Congo-Brazzaville and Congo-Kinshasa. Many times Portugal has tried to institutionalise the «droit de suite», as the French tried during the Algerian war. The intention lying behind these activities is to intimidate the African countries and lead them to withdraw their support from the national liberation movements. All such Portuguese efforts failed. Yet she did not give up. Instead a new idea was born, worked out in co-operation with certain other imperialist powers: to liquidate the progressive governments of the African countries neighbouring upon the Portuguese colonies through military intervention!

It was in the context of this imperialist political orientation that Portugal sought – and succeeded in obtaining – the co-operation of certain reactionary citizens of the Republic of Guinea, enemies of the Revolution and of the Guinean people who were living abroad (particularly in France). Once having established such an alliance, the Portuguese secret services drew up their plans. Certain imperialist powers were involved in these plans. Training camps were established in Guinea-Bissau and finally, on the 22nd of November, 1970, the invasion took place.

In brief, the converging interests of Portuguese colonialism and African counter-revolutionaries generated an alliance that, with the discrete but nonetheless concrete and firm support of some imperialist powers, aimed at stifling nationalist movements and at recolonising independent African countries.

The aggression against the Republic of Guinea failed. The Guinean people united, their militia, their army and the co-operation of the fighters of PAIGC, defeated the Portuguese invasion. Despite the very limited material means of defence available to the Republic of Guinea, and despite the highly sophisticated level of preparation of the aggression, colonialism and imperialism failed to breach the people's wall. This victory against Portuguese colonialism and African counter-revolutionaries supported by imperialism dignifies Africa.

This event is therefore most instructive, in fact the Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinea suggests the following comments:

1 President Sekou Toure had several times in the past publicly denounced the existence of Portuguese training camps in Guinea-Bissau aimed at training mercenaries to attack the Republic of Guinea. In spite of that, the news of the invasion took the world by surprise. This can only suggest that the spirit of revolutionary vigilance was regrettably weak. Why? It is because there is not a firm and militant conviction as to the criminal and aggressive nature of colonialism and imperialism. There is the example of the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression in Suez. There is the experience of the American invasion of Cuba, and of the mercenary invasion against Congo-Kinshasa. Yet even in the face of those examples, there remains a certain liberalism, a certain lack of courage, which falsifies the judgement, and leads one to hope – even to believe – that imperialism will finally change itself, will become less dangerous.

2 This military intervention is surely a new escalation in the modern history of imperialist intervention in Africa. But what is really important to notice is that the fundamental principle contained in this invasion, the principle which colonialism and imperialism now tries to impose and make legitimate, is that of military intervention.

The aggression against the Republic of Guinea took the form of an alliance between colonialism and the African counter-revolution; this was the formula that the specific context favoured. And this formula is not exhausted – it can be tried against other countries. However, the basic feature is military intervention per se, and considering that imperialism will never give up, it is therefore imperative that we remain vigilant. We must understand that colonialism and imperialism seeks new forms of intervention – and that increasingly these forms will include open and direct intervention.

3 The victory of the Guinean people was due to their high level of mobilisation, and to the effectiveness of their political and military organisation. Thus the Guinean experience has reminded us that these are the basic conditions for victory.

4 The development of the armed struggle of the peoples under colonial domination for their independence, and the development of the struggle of the African independent countries for the defence and consolidation of their independence, has determined new relations of co-operation between the nationalist movements and the African states. Close co-operation, a joint discussion of the problems arising from the struggle against colonialism for the liberation of the African continent, is an imperative for today's Africa and a precondition for the defence of the interests of the African peoples, considered individually and collectively.

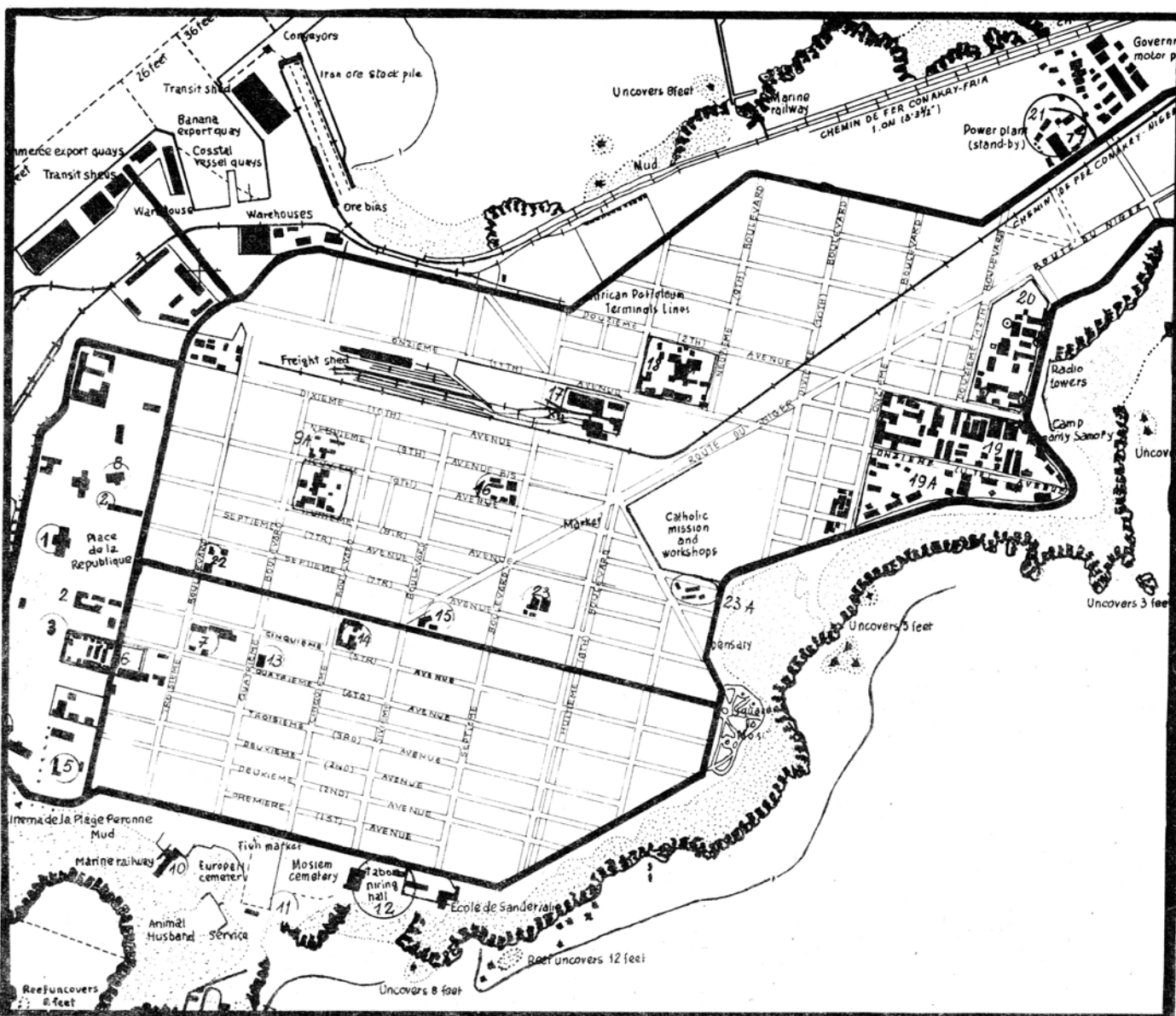
5 The world condemned Portugal and supported the Republic of Guinea. Africa condemned unanimously Portugal, supported the Republic of Guinea and hailed the victory of the Guinean people and the action of PAIGC. Now it is necessary to continue the fight, to sustain the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and to ensure the defence of the independent African countries. There are many problems, many obstacles, to be overcome. What is most necessary is to be realistic, to concentrate efforts where the enemy is weakest,

a) to provide the nationalist movements with the material means which they need, and of which all member states of the OAU are aware. This means essentially, to provide enough weapons to arm the regular guerrilla forces, the militias and the people of the villages.

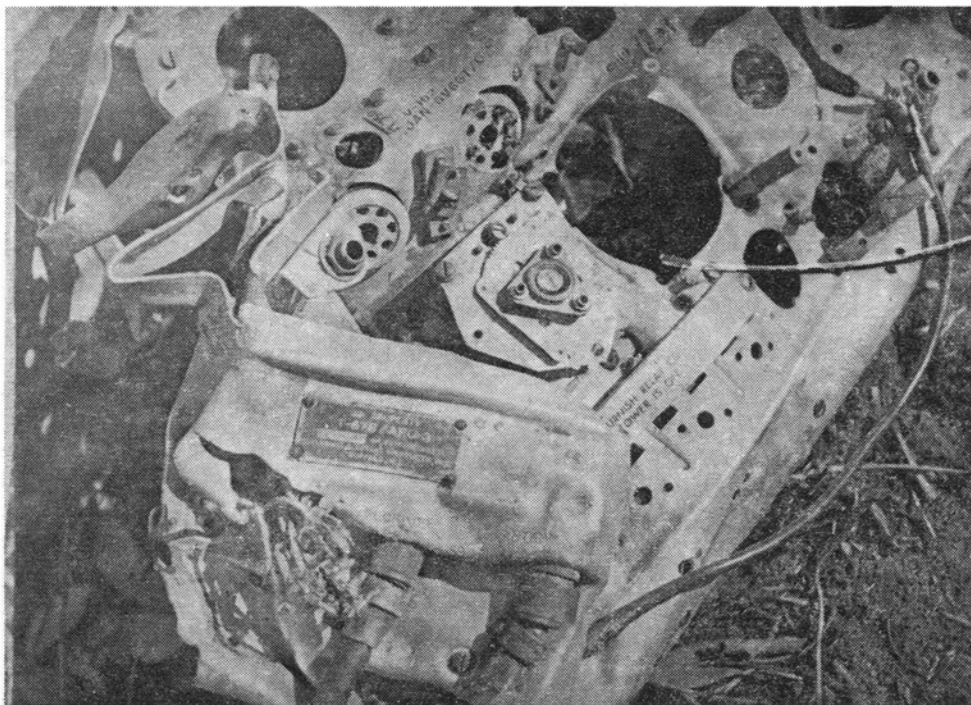
A hand-drawn sketch of a building layout. It shows a rectangular structure with a diagonal line dividing it into two sections. The top-left section is labeled '36 feet' and the bottom-right section is also labeled '36 feet'. A narrow passage between the sections is labeled 'Corridor'. To the right of the building, there is a label 'Iron ore stock pile.' with an arrow pointing towards it.

It is true that it is necessary to ensure the defence of all African countries. But the obstacles which make difficult the defence of the whole continent must not obscure the identification of the task with highest priority – Portuguese colonialism and

And the practice of working to attain these objectives will also create new conditions and provide essential experience which will facilitate subsequent steps in the organisation of the military defence of the entire African continent.



'BIG OFFENSIVE' DEFEATED



This engine is part of the wreckage of an aircraft shot down by FRELIMO guerrillas in Tete Province, on the 2nd June, 1970.

Among the markings on it were the words:

U.S. PROPERTY
T - 87B ARC 3
BUFFALO, NY

The situation in the liberated zones of FRELIMO has returned to normal. Having been defeated in their «big offensive», «operation Gordian Knot», in September, the Portuguese forces have not tried any other operation of that kind. The great losses they suffered in men and material created new contradictions among the colonialist authorities: a strong movement headed by the officers who have been involved in the war since beginning, based on their experience opposed what they called «military adventures», which are extremely costly and which are not bringing any results.

Kaulza de Arriaga, the new general appointed only last March as military commander in Mozambique had to give up and renounce the continuation of the offensive. He came with the idea of a lightning victory over FRELIMO, which he wanted to appear as a personal achievement added to his glory (the mythical name he gave to his offensive reveals his character: Arriaga wanted to cut the «Gordian Knot» of our resistance and so emulate the legendary achievement of Alexander the Great.

Unable to justify his adventures with concrete results and confronted with a general defeat, he had to give up.

But the Portuguese authorities had to try and save the pres-

tige of their army, in the face of the big propaganda campaign they had mounted internally and internationally around this offensive. Their army would «wipe out» FRELIMO in a few weeks, they had announced. So, the authorities had to continue issuing periodic war communiques claiming «complete victory over FRELIMO», «passage to a new phase of the offensive». These claims are absolutely unfounded. As a cameraman who visited our liberated zones in Niassa Province in October and witnessed the development of our struggle rightly commented: «The Portuguese reports have begun to defeat their own objectives: for if FRELIMO had been wiped out in June, how could they be wiped out again in August and now again in December?

In fact, the offensive ended in September with the Portuguese having been repulsed from our zones after suffering extremely heavy losses. The actions they continue to undertake, and these intensively, are air bombings with conventional and napalm bombs. Our work of national reconstruction returned to its normal rhythm.

The military operations in the liberated zones are routine operations, with our guerrillas and our people ready to deal with any new offensive which the Portuguese may try to launch. In the advance zones our offensive proceeds.

News from the front

(From Communiqué No. 11 70)

In order to counter the current Portuguese offensive, FRELIMO fighters multiplied their military operations harrassing the enemy constantly, laying ambushes in every path, planting mines, attacking posts, defending our skies. In Cabo Delgado during May and June, our military activity was particularly intensive in the zones of Chai, Mueda, Mocomia, Mucojo, Nangololo, Miteda, Mocimboa da Praia and Muidumbe, resulting in the death of more than 200 Portuguese soldiers, one reconnaissance plane and one helicopter shot down, and a number of vehicles destroyed.

In Tete, during June, five posts were attacked - in Kantsombo (region of Fingoe), Intawa, Manjanja, Chithuza and Oliveira. All the posts were badly damaged, a mill in the post of Manjanja was destroyed and 62 Portuguese soldiers were killed. Our ambushes were laid especially in the regions of Chiringa, Chipera, (near Cahora Bassa) and Khalilamo, killing 41 enemy soldiers and destroying 2 lorries. The sabotage operations during the same month (June) resulted in the death of 34 soldiers and destruction of 4 lorries. One reconnaissance plane was shot down on the 2nd of June, over Bene.

One train was destroyed by a FRELIMO sabotage unit in Niassa province on the 4th of June. The train was going from Nova Freixo to Vila Cabral, in Southern Niassa. It hit our mines in the zone of Chipa: the engine was blown up and the carriages derailed. The train was carrying troops to Vila Cabral, and some of the soldiers were killed and many wounded. FRELIMO ambushes and other sabotage operations resulted in 13 lorries destroyed and at least 50 Portuguese soldiers killed. Our fighters shot down a helicopter on the 8th of May, in the region of Catur.

From Communiqué No. 12 70)

In Tete Province alone, between the 1st of July and the 30th of August, 12 Portuguese posts and camps were attacked: Nhamadende, Chintunculo, Vila Gamito, Licope, Mfidzi, Chifesse, Malewera, Kakuyo, Kawili, Mangani, Msendaluze and Chale. In the course of these operations 62 Portuguese soldiers were killed and 15 buildings were destroyed. The post of Licope in Chufombo was abandoned.

During the same period 13 ambushes resulted in the death of 45 Portuguese soldiers and one lorry was destroyed. These took place in Chipera, Mfidzi, Ncanha, Kawelo, Furancungo, Bene, Chufombo, Chifisse, Dique, Manje and Chimbozi.

There were also 37 mining and sabotage operations in which 91 Portuguese soldiers were killed, 28 lorries and 3 tractors destroyed and 4 bridges blown up.

Among the bridges destroyed was one over the river Luia. This was 232 meters wide, built in concrete and supported on 9 pillars. It had been built by an Italian company and had

taken more than 3 years to complete. One of the other bridges spanned the Luatize river and was situated only 30 meters from the Portuguese military headquarters of Malewer. It was also built in concrete, 60 meters long and 6 meters wide. It was completely destroyed.

(From Communiqué No. 13 70)

Military reports from several FRELIMO units which, due to delay in communications, were only received now, reveal that, in addition to the actions outlined in previous communiqués, there were during June and July 16 more ambushes in Cabo Delgado, in the zones of Muaguide, Nyankoma, Miteda, Sagal, Nangololo, Lyantwa, Quinheningaia, Mtushi and Nacatar. There were also two military camps attacked in the zone of Mueda, and in Mtumbati, as well as 4 mining operations in Nacatar, Nchilingide and Nangololo. The total results of these operations was 174 Portuguese soldiers killed and 15 lorries blown up.

(From Communiqué No. 14 70)

During the period between 25 September and 7 November 1970, FRELIMO forces in Cabo Delgado and Niassa undertook 34 major operations, in which 27 vehicles were destroyed, more than 200 Portuguese soldiers were killed, 2 bridges were blown up (over rivers Luambala and Rureco) and 6 posts and camps were attacked - in Mitamba (twice), Quinazi, Chipemba, Miandica, Marrupa and Chamba.

One train was ambushed and the locomotive destroyed with bazooka fire on the railway between Catur and Conjerenje in Southern Niassa.

And in Cabo Delgado a U.S. made Aircraft was shot down near the post of Nangololo between Mueda and Mocimboa-da-Praia. The markings were «No. 5401 II Modelo VELLV Z9IR4 - 10 ABR 70 - PART 2.275.000 UNION N.J. U.S.A.



PORTUGUESE ATROCITIES IN MOZAMBIQUE

On August 7th and 8th 1970, the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts established under resolution 2(XXIII) of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. They heard evidence on the conditions in Southern Africa from many witnesses, including FRELIMO militants who were brought out of Mozambique especially to address the meeting:

Zacharias Vanomba aged 53, farmer in Mueda

Muarabu Shauri aged 56, fisherman from Mocimboa da Praia

Abdala Ligela age unknown, FRELIMO freedom fighter from Vila Cabral

Postane Penasse aged 29, from Tete, formerly tractor driver, now FRELIMO freedom fighter.

Drawing solely on their own experiences, the witnesses gave vivid accounts of Portuguese brutality and oppression: of the economic exploitation and forced labour, of the harsh intimidation of local populations who might support the guerrillas, and of the mass arrests and imprisonment with daily PIDE tortures.

Despite the so-called abolition of forced cultivation and forced labour both comrades Shauri and Vanomba listed the low prices paid for the peoples' crops — castor oil, millet, cashew, oil seeds, peanuts, cotton — and the high prices that these same commodities cost in the shops, all prices being fixed by the Portuguese authorities. Plantation workers were paid 2.50 esc. per day (women 2 esc.), had to work from sunrise to sunset, and to provide their own food. Vanomba described how the peasants were obliged to work on road construction and other public works without payment.

«When they ask for their payment for this work the Portuguese say that many things cross the road, including snakes and lions, so they should go and ask them to pay too.»

The Chairman of the Working Group asked about forced labour being sent to South Africa and elsewhere. Comrade Vanomba said that as he came from the north and had been in prison all the time he was in the south, he did not have any personal experience of this, although his fellow-prisoners who came from the south had often told him about this «xibalo»-forced labour by arresting people and sending them to the South African mines. Shauri said that his parents had been arrested and taken to work in the South African mines and had died there.

Portuguese treatment of the civilian populations was described by comrade *Abdala Ligela*:

«I am the only one remaining from my family. One day the Portuguese came to Mkwela, my village and arrested about twelve people, including five from my family. Some were killed on the spot and others taken to concentration camps. Two men were beheaded, and three of the women cut in the stomach — two of them were pregnant.»

I was not arrested that day because I escaped, but I was able to see what was happening to the others. After the arrest they bombed the place with napalm. Five more people were killed, two women and three children, and two more wounded, myself and a child. I was taken to the FRELIMO hospital in Niassa Province, at Kaloloma, where I was cured and then able to return home.»

«When the Portuguese army comes into the bush looking for guerrillas they kill civilians and bomb the crops they find on the way. They not only kill civilians, but even after killing continue to torture their dead bodies. If they cannot bomb the grain they put mines around the storehouses where the grain is kept, so that if any villager wants grain he is killed by the mines. When they arrive at some fields where the crops have already grown and they cannot burn them, they just cut them down with sickles. When they leave they scatter leaflets saying that they cut down the crops because they help feed bandits. The purpose of this is to make the civilians hungry so they will surrender to them.»

In addition to terror, another well-known Portuguese method of controlling the local populations is the strategic hamlet and

protected village, as *Muarabu Shauri* discovered when he returned home after several years in prison:

«When I arrived at Mocimboa da Praia I found that the people – the civilian population – were concentrated in a place surrounded by barbed wire; they said it was for security reasons, and that they were not allowed to leave that place. The people behind the barbed wire were not allowed to come out, they were living like chickens.»

The most notorious means of Portuguese torture is the *palmatória*, a heavy piece of wood shaped rather like a large table tennis bat, but with many holes drilled into it. This is smashed on to the palms of a prisoner's hands with great force so that in a very short time the flesh hangs in shreds. There are also the usual whippings and beatings with sticks, rubber tipped truncheons, and bags filled with sand. Other methods were described by comrade *Postane Penasse*:

«I was a tractor driver. In 1968 when FRELIMO began the armed struggle in Tete Province I left my job and went to join them. First of all I was assigned to work in the fields and produce food for the guerrillas, but shortly afterwards, in June, the Portuguese discovered what I was doing and arrested me. Together with others I was taken to a place from where we were supposed to be transferred to Lourenço Marques. But there was no space in the vehicle and some of us were told to wait.

During the night I was taken for interrogation. They wanted me to tell them where the guerrillas were. I told them I had nothing to do with them, that they were not in my village, but they tortured me by sticking me with the point of a knife. They cut in one place on my leg trying to find a vein, but they did not succeed. Also, along with many other prisoners from the village where I was taken, I was tortured by having sacks soaked in salt water, and covered over my back with more salt beneath, and then beaten with sticks.

However, shortly after this I managed to escape with most of the other prisoners because FRELIMO forces, having heard that we were being held there, attacked, and the Portuguese had to leave us and concentrate on defending themselves.»

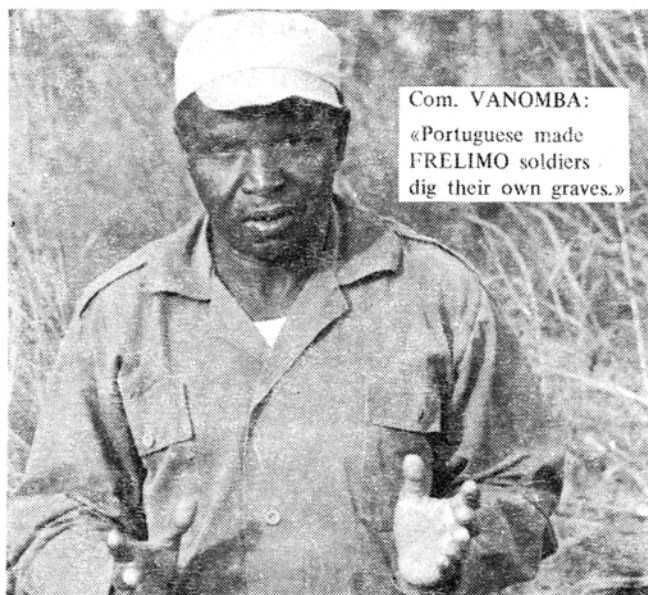
The evidence of *Zacarias Vanomba* and *Muarabu Shauri* described further the treatment, both physical and psychological, meted out to prisoners held by the Portuguese.

Zacarias Vanomba described how he was arrested, beaten, sentenced to forced labour, and finally released on condition that he return home to mobilise the people against FRELIMO. He told how he had been arrested on 10 September, 1961 after returning from a visit to Tanzania where he had contacted the leaders of UDENAMO (one of the exiled movements that came together later that year to form FRELIMO). He was immediately imprisoned in Mueda where he was chained up for two weeks.

«When I was in prison I was beaten with a palmatória and used to sleep on the bare floor. The skin on my hands is not my former skin, because that came off when I was beaten with the palmatoria.»

«From Mueda I was transferred to Mocimboa da Praia where we were always beaten with the palmatória and with a whip. From there I was transferred to the PIDE prison in Lourenço Marques. After six months I was taken from the PIDE prison to a civilian prison and my case was taken to court. My case was heard in a military court on 25 July 1962 after which I was sent to the penitentiary, where I was subjected to forced labour for two years, until 16 February, 1964. Then the Portuguese discovered that I was having political conversations with my colleagues, and thus they decided to transfer me back to the PIDE prison. In 1964, while still in prison, I heard about the formation of FRELIMO and joined them. I was in prison until 1969.

«In every prison I have passed since my first arrest I witnessed the sufferings, the beatings of people with the palmatoria and people always sleeping on the floor. At that time there were about 3,000 prisoners in Machava, many of them died there.»



Comrade *Vanomba* also recalled foreign visitors to the prison. It is quite common for the Portuguese to take officials of international agencies, or journalists, around prisons. Machava in particular and show them the model conditions under which the prisoners are held. *Vanomba* explained what really happened on these occasions.

«Many foreigners came to Machava to try to visit the prisoners, but the Portuguese used to tell them lies, they would not let them see the truth. For example, I know about three important persons who had been arrested for political reasons. These were never shown to the foreigners who came. Those who were shown were the thousands of innocent people who had been arrested. They usually presented the old men who could not explain. I do not know whether these people came from the Red Cross or not, but I do know that they were not Portuguese.

Among the many thousands of people in prison, most of them were arrested in 1963 and 1964. Most of them do not know when they are going to finish their punishment when they are going to be released, and they have not

even had a trial. I was suddenly released without any warning. I was released because the Portuguese thought that since in my area in the north there is the war, which is very tough, they could use me there to immobilise my countrymen and convince them to surrender to the Portuguese. But when I returned to the north, I saw all the people were united with FRELIMO and I decided to stay and join them and fight for independence against the Portuguese. The Portuguese lie when they say that the majority of Mozambicans do not want independence. What in fact happens is that the Portuguese come to the civilian populations with a police escort, with guns in hand, pointing them at the villagers obliging them to say that they don't want independence but that they want to be Portuguese, in order to make their propaganda.»

The Chairman of the Group asked whether he had seen the torture or execution of any freedom fighters.

«Yes, I have. I will speak about the cases of two guerrilla fighters - Chilende and Shindano - who had been captured by the Portuguese and taken to prison. People were invited to come and see them being hanged by a rope by their necks; while they were being hanged the Portuguese turned to the people who were around and asked whether they wanted to support the guerrilla forces or not, and if anyone said 'yes' he would be hanged like those two. They promised that they would kill anyone who insists on supporting the fighters. This happened in Mueda in 1969. I saw this myself at the time that I was returning from Lourenço Marques. I have also witnessed the Portuguese force captured FRELIMO soldiers to dig their own graves and then shoot them right there. My own cousin Amulia was killed like that, in June 1969 in Mueda. These were the only cases I saw myself but during my time in prison in Lourenço Marques I heard about many others.»

Muarabu Shauri described how he was arrested, jailed, tortured, and forced to witness numerous atrocities, because the Portuguese thought he was a leader.

«I was arrested in 1957 after taking my fish to be sold in Tanzania. When I went back to Mozambique I was arrested on the orders of Administrator Lobato, who suspected that I came to Tanzania for political reasons, to get some instructions in the political field and to come back to Mozambique and create a party. I was taken to Palma and then on to Mocimboa da Praia. I had 6,000 shillings with me but when I arrived in Mocimboa da Praia this was taken away and I was beaten 240 strokes with the palmatoria. I was then made to walk from there to Montepuez, which took about nine days. I was in a group of forty-five, among whom I remember Abubakar, Selemani Saidi, and others who came from Palma.

When we arrived at Montepuez we met a white administrator nicknamed Metinguri. He was a very bad one - he used to put water in the cells and we were obliged to lie in the water. At 6 o'clock in the evening, as we entered our cells we were beaten by the police with bags filled

with sand. From among the prisoners, ten of us were left at Montepuez. One of the ten died - his name was Andra de Rubea, - because of this kind of torture. After the death of Andrade Rubea I personally approached the administrator to ask him to buy some clothes in order to proceed with the burial, but he refused any permission for the burial. We had to ask some villagers from nearby to bury him.

Once the governor of Cabo Delgado came to visit us and I asked to be allowed to speak to him. Much to my surprise my request was granted, and I asked him why I was in jail and why I was being ill treated and beaten. The Governor refused to answer saying that I had no right to ask such questions. I reported this back to my fellow prisoners and we decided that we had better not ask any more questions as they would probably only increase our punishment and torture.

After my release in 1958 I decided to return to Tanzania but when I came back to Mozambique the following year I was arrested again, but later released. In 1961 I heard that political parties for the liberation of Mozambique had been established in Tanzania. They were called UDENAMO and MANU. I was very happy about this and



waited for an opportunity to join them. In 1963 people from these organisations came to talk to me and they took me to Mtwara in Tanzania. There I found that these organisations had merged to form FRELIMO. I was given orders to return to Mozambique to mobilize the people and to encourage them to join FRELIMO and fight for their independence.

I went through Kionga, Palma and Mocimboa da Praia distributing membership cards among the population who were very eager to fight the Portuguese colonialists. I continued this work until I was again arrested in September 1964.

I was taken to Mocimboa da Praia where I saw eight of my comrades their hands and feet bound, and swung from a rope, beaten to death with a whip. I was standing in an entrance and the Portuguese soldiers came with their knives and stuck them in my back and several other places. These scars are the result. I was forced to watch my comrades slowly beaten to death. However, the Portuguese administrator and the soldiers obviously

thought that this was not yet enough to make me change my views and so they took me to place called Mtende in Mocimboa da Praia region, where they took four pregnant women and cut open their stomachs with a knife, one by one. Then they took Sura Imani and shot him with a pistol.

They made me witness these things because they wanted to make me afraid and therefore to stop me making propaganda for the party.

I was then taken from Mocimboa da Praia to Ibo Island a heavy punishment prison for people from all over Mozambique. When we arrived there we were made to walk for about twelve hours without food or water. On arrival at the prison we were made to walk through a line of policemen armed with whips and rubber tipped sticks. First we were beaten by the whips, then the sticks, and then both at the same time.

At that time Ibo was a new prison. For three months we were fed only on dried, uncooked cassava, two pieces in the morning and two in the afternoon. They also put water in our cells in the evening and we were obliged to sleep in water so that we do not sleep properly.

About three months later, in January 1965, they changed our diet to rotten cassava and rotten fish that would otherwise have been thrown away, bought from Vila Cabral. After the cassava was cooked it was just placed on the cement floor and we were forced to eat off the floor.

In January 1965 they decided to put in our cells four drums in each corner which we had to use as a W.C. When the drums were full they chose about eight people to go put their faces in the drums. I was the first one chosen for this along with other comrades including Chitane and Antonio Cheira.

There was one section of PIDE stationed there especially to interrogate the prisoners. When you were taken for interrogation at the PIDE section there were three men armed with a whip, rubber - tipped stick, and palmatoria and you are beaten on the stomach and sides and made to confess what you knew about FRELIMO guerrillas. About 160 men died of this kind of torture, and about ten were killed with pistols, including a sheikh of the Muslim religion named Fazeira Yusuf.

Seeing these tortures, my hatred increased and I decided to tell the Chief of PIDE that this way he might finish off the Mozambican people, but that would not stop people fighting for their independence. He said that I was talking like a madman when I said that the people were only fighting for their rights and ordered that I be immediately punished with 20 strokes of the palmatoria.

At this point a member of the Group enquired whether the number of people stated as having died was just a general statement or whether this was an accurate number of those who died in Ibo prison. Mr Shauri replied:

Those 160 men were killed on Ibo island. I saw them be-

ing killed. There was an order from Administrator Chambino that I should be made to witness all the tortures because I was suspected of having been politically active in Mozambique. But on Ibo island many more than 160 died, and these are just the cases I witnessed myself.

The Chairman then asked why it was that he was made to watch these things, and why he himself was not killed. The witness explained:

«My opinion is that the Portuguese thought that I was a leader of the movement, as they knew I had been undertaking many political activities. Moreover, many legal proceedings had been undertaken against me and it was a well known fact that I was being held prisoner. They feared to kill me lest this should cause even more unrest among the people. Indeed Administrator Rocha from Mocimboa da Praia had once forbidden my execution for this very reason, and also that of my brother Mohamed Shauri. (My brother is still in prison). There had been no such legal proceedings against many of the other prisoners and few people knew they were there. They were just arrested, tortured and killed.

The bodies of executed prisoners used to be transported in some kind of trailer pulled by a tractor. They used to put sand in the trailer and the bodies on top. Then when it arrived at the common grave the bodies would just be tipped in and the sand would fall on top, covering everything.»

In the morning they used to open the prison and order the prisoners to go for a bathe in the sea. On the way to the sea they had covered the path with thorn branches, which we were forced to walk over.

In March 1965 we were transferred by ship from Ibo to Lourenco Marques, to Machava Prison. Here there were small cells, some containing already 150 prisoners. They did not even have enough space to sleep and some had to sleep on top of each other. We were crowded into the same cells with them. Even when we complained, they refused to change this.

In January 1966 we were transferred to Mabalane, Limpopo, where we were put on forced labour – opening up new land, cultivating and planting cotton, rice, millet and maize. The terrain was full of big trees and each prisoner had to cut down one big tree. If he had to rest he was beaten and forced back to work. We worked from six in the morning until six in the evening under the supervision of a Portuguese called Ribeiro.»

«In 1967 a man named Ousman came to visit the camp of Mabalane. It was said that he was from the United Nations and was checking on our living conditions. He saw that we were dressed in sacks because the one pair of shorts and shirt given to us on arrival were already torn, and that we slept on the floor without any cover. But nothing changed after his visit. Then in 1968 another white man, named Andrea, came to the camp. He spoke French, Swahili and English and said that he was not Portuguese. He was accompanied by the Governor of Gaza Province, the camp commander and another

man. He showed some of the prisoners a card with a red cross on it to prove that he came from that organisation because some of the prisoners were afraid to speak to him. On three occasions previously they had been tricked by some Portuguese who had come to investigate them but posed as employees of the United Nations or other organisations. Andrea had been told that FRELIMO guerrillas were detained there, but the prisoners told him that none of them were guerrillas.

In 1960 while we were still in the Limpopo area in the Mabalane prison, we received a note saying that we were called – I mean me, Jacinto Mchakeka, Cornelio Mandanda, Andrea Nikutume and Clementino Nandanga – by the authorities because they wanted to set us free and send us to our areas of birth, to persuade the people there to stop fighting and surrender. They said that as we were the ones who had persuaded them to start the struggle, so we should go back and persuade them to stop. We were afraid at first, but we were taken to the authorities who took us to Mueda. The rest of my comrades remained there and I was taken to Mocimboa da Praia. There I found that the people – the civilian population – were concentrated in places surrounded by barbed wire. I asked them why this was so and they said it was for security reasons and that they were not allowed to leave that place.»

We had already agreed that we would not do what the Portuguese wanted but would stay with them for nine days and on the tenth day we would go and join FRELIMO. So on the tenth day I went into the bush and found that it was true that the Portuguese were bombing the grain in the fields. At Nachidunga I saw a big field where the millet and maize had been bombed. But I proceeded on my way and found the FRELIMO militants, and discovered that in fact, contrary to what the Portuguese had said, there were still many many civilians with FRELIMO.»

‘... The refusal of the colonial-fascist government of Portugal to recognise our right to independence, as well as the war of aggression in all its forms waged against our people, constitutes a grave infringement against human rights in our country.

The defense of human rights in our country demands the affirmation of the rights of the Mozambican people to national independence and the support in all its aspects - political, military and social - to our struggle for liberation.

It demands also, obligatory, the condemnation of Portuguese colonialism and the wars of aggression, together with all its crimes.

Finally, it demands the condemnation of all countries and organisations that support Portugal politically, militarily or financially, thus enabling her to wage three colonial wars of aggression in Africa - in Mozambique, Angola and Guine. ’

Excerpt of FRELIMO's statement to the
the Human Rights Group.



PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF PORTUGUESE BRUTALITY IN MOZAMBIQUE :

Left: a captured Mozambican is beheaded by Portuguese soldiers in a jungle clearing.

Right: after the killing, the grinning executioner displays to the cameraman the trophy - the head of the Mozambican patriot.

CAHORA BASSA



WHY WE SAY NO

The issue raised by the Cahora Bassa Dam has figured in the agendas of the principal international conferences, in the world press, it is discussed in public meeting, it provokes popular demonstrations. Big financial interests and reactionary political forces follow anxiously the developments of events doing everything possible to make the project a reality; while the progressive forces try to prevent its realisation.

In this context, it is important to analyse the meaning and the implications of this project - in particular to find out which are the reasons determining the different positions on Cahora Bassa.

This ambitious project would provide Mozambique with all the electric power she needs for her development, as well as enabling her to export power to the neighbouring countries. It would seem then in the interests of the people of Mozambique that the dam be built. And this is the argument that the forces interested in the project are using to justify their involvement. They argue that the building of the dam will give work to thousands of Mozambicans both in the building and in the resulting industrial complex. That it will irrigate thousands of hectares of land, thus allowing hundreds of thousands of people to benefit from this arable land. That it would attract foreign investments, thus facilitating the development of the country. That it will make the Zambezi navigable up to the Indian Ocean. And that, since independence will come sooner or later, it is advisable to let the dam be built: because an independent Mozambique will be in a much better economic situation with the dam than without it.

The Mozambique Liberation Front opposes the construction of the Cahora Bassa Dam. The previous arguments may appear

reasonable to some one who is not familiar with the economics of colonial exploitation. The arguments do not deceive the Mozambican people.

Public works projects like Cahora Bassa do not benefit the Mozambican worker, since the system of labour recruitment is virtually forced labour. The Portuguese authorities impose a heavy tax on the people, who have no means to pay it. The law stipulates that persons who do not pay the tax can be forced to work in public utility projects until the amount of the tax is worked off. Roads, bridges, government buildings - all government and semi-government projects are constructed in this way. The payments for the labour does not go into the hands of the worker but rather goes to the Portuguese government who pays foreign personnel for their services, the labourer reaps no economic benefit. In fact, his family is subjected to greater economic hardship, since the family's main breadwinner is unable to provide support. Because of the need for labour demanded by a project of such proportion, the hunt for impressed labour would be intensified.

ONE MILLION WHITE SETTLERS

What about the new arable land made available by the Cahora Bassa Dam (One and a half million hectares)? The Portuguese have made no secret of the fact that it will not be Mozambican people who will settle in that area, but rather white settlers immigrating from Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia and Western European countries. In July of this year the Chief-of-Staff of the Portuguese Armed Forces declared in Mozambique that "The big solution for the security and progress of the Portuguese Overseas Territories is to settle there one million whites."

This plan is already being implemented: The first group of Portuguese settlers are on their way from Portugal to the Cahora Bassa site; In France and West Germany a large campaign is underway among the Portuguese immigrant workers aimed at convincing them to leave those countries for Mozambique where they will be given better living conditions. This campaign has been extended to include the nationals of these countries. Portuguese soldiers, after their four year period of military service in the colonies, are persuaded to stay and settle in the areas of strategic importance.

We see therefore that improved land would not be for economic benefit of the Mozambican people: on the contrary, it would mean further misery for our people, as they are pushed off land they have traditionally occupied.

There are other implications as well. The Portuguese are engaged in a colonial war against the people of Mozambique. The establishment of a mass of white settlers is part of a strategic plan: the aim is to create a human barrier along the Zambezi to prevent the FRELIMO Forces from advancing further south. At present the Portuguese colonial government has little more than a superficial economic hold on Mozambique. The realisation of the dam however more firmly implant the Portuguese industrial interests in the colony - a situation which will make more difficult the wresting of independence from a otherwise notoriously backward European country. These reasons alone are strong enough for the Mozambique Liberation Front to oppose the Cahora Bassa project. But there are other reasons involving the connection of the Cahora Bassa Dam with South African expansionism and international capital.

IMPERIALISM MOVES IN

Cahora Bassa is not solely a Portuguese project. In fact the country most interested in its materialisation, and which is participating heavily, to the extent of sending her troops to Mozambique to protect the construction site, is South Africa. South Africa has the biggest stake in the project — more than half of the total estimated cost of 170 million pounds. Other countries deeply involved are West Germany, France, Britain and Canada. Canada will provide all the aluminium through her company ALCAN. Portuguese participation is less than 20 per cent. The United States and Japan have been granted extensive rights to explore oil deposits, copper and iron in Tete Province, in the region of Cahora Bassa.

We are therefore witnessing a great move of international monopolies to secure a place in Mozambique's economic development. The carving up of the economic resources of Mozambique by western and South African capitalism is matched, as we have already said, by the scheme to settle some one million European migrants in the Zambezi Valley. This undoubtedly is the most pernicious aspect of the Cahora Bassa scheme: it envisages the mobilising of the outcasts of Western European society, of transporting them to Mozambique, providing them with free land alienated from the African people and of creating for these migrants a special regime of privilege based on the South African apartheid model. These European social outcasts are, in these senses, destined to play the role of the white settlers of Rhodesia and South Africa: a major supporting force for colonialist reaction in Mozambique, capable of defending their newfound privileges and become a de-

pendable pillar for international imperialism inside Southern Africa.

The freedom struggle in Mozambique has played a crucial part in the decisions of the colonial powers and of international capital to construct the Cahora Bassa dam at this stage. Over the past five years the armed forces of FRELIMO have steadily expanded their area of operations in northern Mozambique, isolating and liquidating Portuguese garrisons in the Provinces of Cabo Delgado and Nyassa and in Tete, north of the Zambezi. Until about 1965 the Portuguese military authorities concentrated their forces along a line from Nacala to Mandimba in the hope that this so-called defence zone would be held against the armed units of FRELIMO. By 1966 this line was broken and FRELIMO forces have virtually occupied the provinces concerned. This development gave impetus to the South African-Portuguese survey of Tete and the planning of the Cahora Bassa Project. The South African authorities despatched two battalions to Tete in 1968 fearing that FRELIMO guerrilla units would link up with the armed forces of the liberation movements of South Africa and Zimbabwe operating to the west of the upper Zambezi valley. By the end of 1968 South Africa had come to commit over one-third of its selective recruitment ground forces in Mozambique, Rhodesia and Angola. Cahora Bassa is now to be built under the protective military shield of apartheid South Africa.

These, then are the terms in which the Cahora Bassa Project emerges as a calculated and comprehensive economic and political device, conceived and now being made operational by international capital and the South African-Portuguese alliance, to stave off the progress of the liberation struggle in Mozambique, to link Mozambique in a common economic and political destiny with that of the neighbouring countries of Southern Africa, all rooted in a system of cheap labour and white settler privilege and under the perpetual sway of western capitalism. The Cahora Bassa scheme would provide a critical focus around which international monopolies could control and influence economic and political developments in East and Central Africa and ultimately to integrate the economies of these states with those of Southern Africa.

The Mozambique Liberation Front will continue fighting against Portuguese colonialism and economic imperialism as represented by the Cahora Bassa project. FRELIMO guerrillas are already operating in the region of Cahora Bassa and are achieving outstanding successes, extending their control over the area.

The Mozambican people do not stand alone in the struggle. The recent Non-Aligned Summit Conference endorsed the resolution passed by the Organisation of African Unity Heads of States Conference held this month, against the Cahora Bassa project. The United Nations condemned the scheme. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has been in the forefront of the international diplomatic campaign for the halting of the halting of foreign participation in the dam. Sweden and Italy have already withdrawn. West Germany remains the major supporter, along with France and South Africa.

The combination of FRELIMO's military action with international support will ultimately prevent the construction of the Cahora Bassa Project.

THE STRUGGLE IN NIASSA PROVINCE

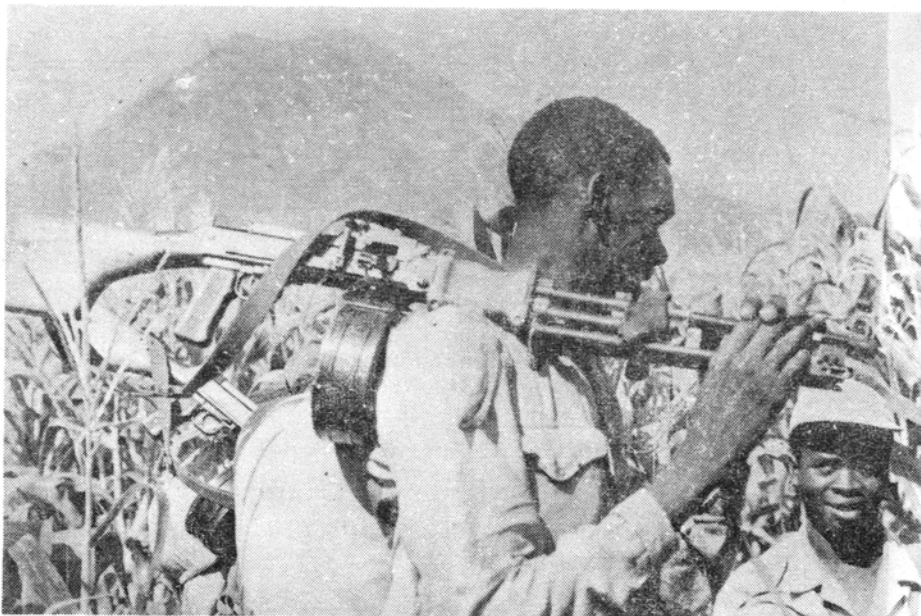
By comrade PEDRO JUMA, Niassa's military commander

«We are very proud of the revolutionary activities of the military and civilian populations of Niassa over the past few years, during which time their political awareness and maturity has grown considerably. A simple indicator FRELIMO often uses to assess the extent of this development is the people's conception of the enemy. This is because it is very easy for them from their own experience to simply say, as they do at the beginning, that the enemy is the white man. It is only after patient work by our political commissars that they understand the full ramifications of the colonial system, comprising the Portuguese authorities, army and supported by settlers, African traitors, and the strong imperialist allies. In Niassa, as I travel all over the province I have observed how our people have gradually come to understand this. For example, this attitude was well demonstrated to us this year, when white cameramen visited Niassa. At first when the children saw them, they cried and tried to hide, but as soon as their mothers knew who these people were, they comforted the children and assured them that there was no need to be afraid for these were friends.

Of course, sometimes the other kind of whites also enter our zones - the Portuguese soldiers who come to kill everything in sight: everything that moves, whether a child, a defenceless person or even a chicken picking up grain from the ground. To them it is all the same, they just want to kill. But our people realise that not all whites are like that and they have no difficulty in distinguishing our friends from our enemies.

Another sign of this political development is the people's strong reaction to the many different types of propaganda tried by the enemy. They have even come to anticipate different stages and kinds of propaganda according to different stages of the struggle. Last year, for example, the enemy appealed to the people to surrender and hand in their weapons: in exchange they would be given money and good homes. But this had no effect at all. The people described the Portuguese as 'drinkers of blood', pressed for more arms, and offensives were stepped up, particularly in the zones of Mataca, Unango and Maniamba. Then another tactic was tried - that of encouraging tribalism in the Eastern region. They broadcast through loudspeakers from low-flying aircraft and dropped thousands of leaflets, exhorting the people to leave FRELIMO and return to the Portuguese, as they were being forced to suffer because of the activities of fighters who were not local people but came from Western Niassa and even other provinces. But our people paid no attention. They had weapons in their hands and had already participated in many combats; they were producing more food than they had ever done before; and they knew that it was a result of their own actions, in collaboration with fighters who came from all over Mozambique, that their areas had been freed from Portuguese control. There was no necessity for local leaders even to try to refute the Portuguese - the actual situation itself did that.

At the beginning of this year the enemy tried yet another tactic. Between March and July in particular, they sent



A pause
in the
march
through
Niassa
Province



Deep in study:
a young pupil
at a FRELIMO
school in Niassa.

agents to mingle among the people and sow discontent by describing the 'good life' in the «protected villages». This did not work either. In some instances, after spending a short time among us, and when they saw what life in the liberated areas was really like, they simply gave themselves up. They saw how the people conduct their own affairs and hold meetings where everyone can speak, how the militias undertake responsible tasks and missions, always with great enthusiasm and optimism. They saw how the children went to school, and medical assistance was available for the sick. When they saw all these things, they just gave themselves up, confessing their mission and asking to be allowed to stay in the FRELIMO zones. Such people are now working in the struggle with us. Those that did not give themselves up soon made themselves very obvious through their activities. It is yet another aspect of the people's political awareness that they are always on the alert for this kind of infiltration, and can soon recognize such agents. Many were located around this time, particularly in the zones of Meponda, Catur in the Southern sector, Maniamba and Unango. Strange though it may seem, we always feel confident when this happens, for it confirms our confidence in the strength of our organisation and education and in the responsibilities entrusted to the people. Indeed, much of the work formerly carried out by guerrillas is now undertaken by the people through their various committees.

Ever since the war first started, our fighting front has been expanding. As long ago as 1965 we were achieving many successes, such that a British journalist and writer, invited by the Portuguese to visit the war zones wrote:

«The scale of fighting in this bitter, unsung war has steadily increased since the first minor incidents just a year ago—especially in recent weeks when there has been a strong FRELIMO build-up.

Today the battle zone stretches some 20 to 40 miles inland along almost all Mozambique's lake shore from the Tanzanian to the Malawi border.

In 3,000 terrorised square miles the Portuguese, both civil and military, are now confined to five small isolated garrisons: Metangula, Maniamba, Cobue, Olivença and Nova Coimbra. Throughout the battle zone all main roads have been mined by the FRELIMO and are subject to ambush.

And they have recently surged south to cut the vital supply routes to Meponda and Nova Freixo from Vila Cabral. ...»

In the last two years particularly we have received many new fighters into our ranks, and today our military operations have expanded to cover the whole province, such that our main tasks now are to consolidate our position and to widen the field of combat actions. Since 1968 many enemy posts have been attacked all over Niassa - Mandalawi, Oliveira, Massangulo, Catur in the southern sector, in Ngoo, Nova Coimbra, Lunho, Maniamba, Luiga, Cobue, Unango, Dias, Mmbandeze, Chizomela and other posts in the western sector; Mataka, Candulo, Lutatize, Mtelela, Maua, Luis and others in the eastern sector. Our sabotage actions and ambushes were of particular intensity this year with our greatest successes being in the vicinity of the town of Vila Cabral and in the advanced zones of Nova Freixo and Mecanhelas. The enemy tried to counter these joint actions of the people and the guerrillas by major and extensive offensives — using bombers, jets, helio-transported troops. Their objective was the dual aims of encircling and capturing the civilian population while at the same time capturing our bases. But, united, our FRELIMO militants — the army, the militias, and the masses — had the correct response. In Maniamba, in May, they shot down a helicopter, and in many other places the enemy was aggressively counter-attacked, as in Maniamba, Olivença, Macaloge, Mepoche, Namatumba, around Metangula, Luvila, Lutatize, Mtelela, Mecanhelas, Oliveira, and Meponda.



Secretarial work
in progress
in Niassa

Some of the Portuguese reactions to these activities indicate the extent of their demoralisation. For example, last year they sent a bomb hidden in a parcel to a Portuguese trader called Manuel, who had a shop in Malica near Vila Cabral, and whom they suspected of collaboration with FRELIMO. When he opened the parcel the explosion blasted off both his hands. The Portuguese are nervous. They have been forced to resort to this kind of action because they realised that we were not only active in the rural areas but also were operating inside Vila Cabral itself, and as they could not comprehend how this could be possible, they assumed that one of their own people must be collaborating with us. This illustrates well the confusion within the Portuguese ranks, but but it should also be a good lesson for the Portuguese people themselves, to show that the only solution to their situation is to fight their government of exploiters and murderers as we do.

It is possible that when we talk of national reconstruction people may think that we are talking about building nice new houses, etc. This is not the case. By national reconstruction we mean primarily an ideological transformation: the rejection of the backwardness and dedication to a new life and society. Our people are now working together, not as in the colonial past where each used to work individually. They handle their own affairs through district, locality and circle committees and everything they undertake is based on a collective assessment of their requirements. The guerrillas are integrated into this organisation, and all military problems are solved together with the people.

The province of Niassa has great possibilities for agriculture wheat, rice, cotton, etc. Although the Portuguese never established their organised control over production in Niassa as in other provinces, nevertheless they still managed to exploit what little the people did produce. That is why Niassa produces less in relation to the other provinces. But we are now starting to create conditions for increased production of a kind never known before. The people are learning new systems and methods of cultivation. They work together in

co-operatives and are introducing new seeds such as cashew nuts, and several kinds of vegetables. Also, in each district there are camps where the people cultivate together, the produce of which is divided partly among themselves, part is reserved for the guerrillas, and yet another share is kept for exchange with neighbouring provinces and countries. At present in Niassa we are producing maize, different kinds of beans, cassava, sesame, as well as other crops. These products are sometimes damaged by the enemy who bomb them with napalm. And sometimes in the knowledge of an imminent offensive we have to harvest before crops are ripe. I am certain that with the passage of time Niassa will be able to establish simple methods of processing to preserve food surpluses. It is also possible to introduce cattle into many places where there is no tsetse fly, but in the meantime the province is very rich in game. We eat the meat and trade the skins and also ivory.

It is well known that Niassa is one of the provinces where the Portuguese did nothing in the educational field. The maximum that most children learned was to recite the Koran by heart. But now we have many schools in our zones, including two boarding schools where children from different areas and tribes stay and study together. The children cultivate their own shambas to feed themselves, and this year in western Niassa they harvested potatoes and cassava. Through working and living together the children also learn of the different cultures of other tribes, their dances and their songs, and perform them in addition to their own.

Finally, the situation with regard to medical care was the same as that for education - the people had nowhere to go for treatment. But now each locality has its own small clinic and mobile teams of nurses travel around the villages. In each sector there is a central hospital. However, one of the greatest obstacles to efficient medical services is the acute shortage of medicines, equipment and medical cadres.

Indeed these shortages are experienced in every field, and we still have a great deal more work to do in Niassa. But we feel we can justly be proud of what we have achieved so far.

journey with a camera



LAST SEPTEMBER TWO BRITISH FILM - MAKERS VISITED NIASSA PROVINCE WHERE THEY SHOT A FILM ABOUT THE DAILY LIFE AMONG THE PEOPLE. THEY WERE SPONSORED BY THE BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM IN MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA AND GUINEA. MARGARET DICKINSON, WHO WENT ON THE ASSIGNMENT WITH JOHN FLETCHER, TELLS ABOUT HER IMPRESSIONS:

Plans for the film first began to take shape around the end of 1969. Our main idea then was that although several books and articles published over the past two years have helped make people in the West aware that there is a war in Mozambique, ideas about it were still very hazy. Even moderately well informed people ask questions ranging from: «Why can't the Mozambicans negotiate their independence peacefully?» to «Why doesn't FRELIMO organise an uprising in Lourenço Marques and get on with it?» We hoped that being more vivid, a film might help to clear such confusions and generate a more realistic understanding of the struggle. Since then events have made this need for information more critical. The first is the change of government in England. For although Britain has always supported Portugal and indirectly contributed to her war effort, the new so-called 'defence policy', including the decision to sell arms to South Africa, marks a new phase of more direct

involvement in South Africa on the side of the white fascist powers. It is essential now to expose the propaganda with which this policy is clothed and to show who, in reality, the South Africans will turn those weapons against. The second is Kaulza de Arriaga's great offensive and the coverage given to it by the western press. Throughout the summer the major papers have carried reports drawn from Portuguese sources, announcing the final defeat of FRELIMO. After some months, it is true, these reports had begun to defeat their own objectives: if FRELIMO had been wiped out in June, how could they be wiped out again in August? But for casual readers the general impression remained that the tide of the war had turned against FRELIMO. To counter this an up to date report was needed.

No one lives near the border at the point where we entered

Mozambique, so our first few days told us little about civilian life. We did, however, learn something about the army on the long march. There were no pointless delays, no crises, everyone seemed to know what they were doing. Although there was no radio and no transport except by foot, our commander was kept well informed by reconnaissance units about the military situation in the whole area. We also soon found that we had no more cause to worry about our heavy and delicate equipment, than on a normal location. Everything had to be carried by hand and the people responsible were often far out of sight in front or behind us but nothing was lost or damaged. The care taken of it was almost pedantic. One box containing spare cables and other small objects had a card of safety pins in it, and one day one of these was needed for makeshift repair. The man in charge of that case noticed that it had gone astray and asked about it with great concern.

Well organised as the journey was we were glad to arrive in inhabited country, to see green corn and bright civilian clothes after miles of dried up bush. Even the unit accompanying us took on a new significance. For a group of armed men marching through the bush can mean anything while the same group warmly welcomed and eagerly questioned in a village begins to mean something.

We soon arrived in an area where, although our real concern was with the people it was difficult as film makers not to be a little distracted by the physical beauty of the place: a green river valley swinging lazily across the dry bush land and curling sharply under a pointed blue hill. As we reached the valley floor we saw that the scene was more relevant to our enquiry than we had thought when we first stopped to admire it. For the most dramatic element, the vivid green was largely man-made: acres of lush, healthy maize plants set neatly in well weeded fields. This was a remarkable sight for late September for, in that region cultivation is traditionally a rainy season activity and takes place only between November and March. It is a direct result of the struggle and the new drive for increased production that villagers there are now producing two dry season crops as well, achieving three harvests a year instead of only one.

This is only one of many ways in which life has changed for the people since the struggle. The most significant change is, of course, the disappearance of the Portuguese administration. This is also behind the three harvests. It is worthwhile for them to produce more now that they gain the benefits. It is worthwhile to experiment with new methods, co-operative production. These kind of decisions are now taken by the people themselves in the local elected committees. Many other developments have followed. For children and young people, particularly the women, life holds very different prospects for them now. The network of FRELIMO primary schools is spreading and offering to an increasing number of children the possibility of starting an education. The army and FRELIMO services offer young people not only the chance to acquire some education but the opportunity to use their abilities and to use them to benefit Mozambicans, peasants like themselves and their families.

We met many young people who had learnt to speak Portuguese and learnt to read and write in the FRELIMO

army, these people were all in some sense doing responsible work. This was particularly true in the case of women whose responsibilities before the struggle ended with their family. Now, as well, they were taking part in the local defense forces, organising supplies to villages, looking after orphans, and trying to deal with various other social problems fall outside the framework of the family. This is clearly true not just of young people in that area. Many of those travelling with us were not from Niassa. A good number came from Cabo Delgado and some were from as far as Gaza and Manica and Sofala and had had to evade the Portuguese to come and join FRELIMO in the North.

We could see that FRELIMO has been able successfully to cross language and ethnic barriers. In that region alone we met people from three different language groups, Yao Nyanja and Ngoni, and in some cases they were working the same land together. As for the militants with us, who came from entirely different provinces, they were received quite as enthusiastically as those who came from local families. The only noticeable problem was that a great deal of interpreting had to be done, both at meetings and in casual conversations, but as everyone seemed to speak at least two local languages and most of the militants knew some Portuguese, there was no shortage of interpreters.

From our short visit we cannot claim to any very profound knowledge of FRELIMO or Mozambique: we saw only a tiny fragment of the liberated areas and met only a very few of the many people who form FRELIMO. But we saw enough to be able to say that despite the many problems they face, and despite the persistent bombing raids, the scars of which could be seen in and around all the inhabited areas, FRELIMO has a firm base in Mozambique. If outside support were withdrawn from Portugal it seems certain that FRELIMO would be able to defeat the colonialist army within a fairly short space of time and would be able to follow up their military victory by establishing a strong effective government founded on the support and active participation of the Mozambican people.



ONCE THEY CAME WITH SWEETS AND GIFTS...

Some time ago the Portuguese colonialists had created a special service of propaganda, called Psycho-social Services, whose task was to go from village to village, especially in the war zones, and try to convince the people that the Portuguese are good people, that they are not the criminals FRELIMO says they are, and that besides the Portuguese are strong, rich and powerful - and thus it is a mistake to dare to fight against them. That campaign was undertaken by relatively large groups of rich society women, members of the Women's National Movement, who decided to give up their social meetings and parties a few days each month and fulfil «the patriotic duty» of «giving their contribution to the salvation of Portugal». They were prepared for the campaign by specialists of the Psycho-Social Action who told them what exactly to do. Those groups would arrive at a village under heavy escort of Portuguese troops. The population was gathered in one place and the work started. Someone (usually one of the «specialists») would make a speech warning the population against the «bandits of FRELIMO who want to deviate us from the way of progress and peace» because «this progress and this peace can only be achieved under the Portuguese flag. Do you understand? Those who detach themselves from Portuguese protection are suffering war and hunger». «We are all brothers, all Portuguese» etc. After the speech which the people were supposed to applaud, the women would distribute gifts: sweets for the children, mirrors, beads. At the end, then, a film would be shown. A film in the bush is obviously very impressive - to people who have never seen one before.

So the Psycho-Social Services would organise the transport of a generator and projector for 16 mm films. Of course the film showed Portuguese troops marching, tanks, bombers, warships, and also invariably one white man embracing a black man. «Do you see», one of the organisers would say, «we are not racists, we treat you like brothers».

After one of these groups had left, the guerrillas re-entered the village. Some of them mingling among the crowd or hidden in the high grass, had seen the film. And the meaning of the visit of the colonialist group was then explained to our people by the political commissar of the region. «The Portuguese have brought today sweets to our children, gifts for the women, they tell us that they are our brothers - why? The Portuguese are afraid of losing the riches of Mozambique, which belong to the Mozambican people and which they are

exploiting. The Portuguese today are afraid of us because they see our struggle developing. And as they know that our struggle is popular, is carried out by the people, they try to convince the people not to fight - either by frightening them (as you can see through films with pictures of their military equipment they have shown), or by trying to convince us that they are good people (as demonstrated by the «gifts» they left). If there was no struggle, the Portuguese would continue to ignore us completely. Therefore, this visit of the colonialist group shows that we are on the right way - they are already afraid - and that we must intensify more and more the armed struggle until the total liberation of our country». The people, understanding this, reaffirmed their determination to continue the struggle. Thus this activity of the Portuguese, aimed at alienating the people from the struggle was used to advantage by us as a means of mobilising our people. Indeed after some time the Portuguese recognised that they had no success with this method and gave it up, dissolving the Psycho-Social Services as an autonomous department and integrating its «specialist» staff in the PIDE.

Since then the principal means of propaganda used by the Portuguese is the radio and the distribution of pamphlets. They opened new radio stations, one of them in Nampula in northern Mozambique, transmitting several hours a day in Portuguese and in Mozambican languages. It was from here that the traitor Lazaro Kavandame used to speak to the people, advising them to lay down the arms and return to the Portuguese, because «the Portuguese are good, they will forgive you as they forgave me»; «the Portuguese are strong, FRELIMO can do nothing against them»; «You are suffering because of the war - do as I did, come to the Portuguese and you will have food, clothes, money and peace». In the case of Lazaro, it was not necessary for our political commissars to explain to the people: Lazaro was well known by everybody, especially by the population of Cabo Delgado, by the activities of exploitation which he exercised while he was provincial secretary there.

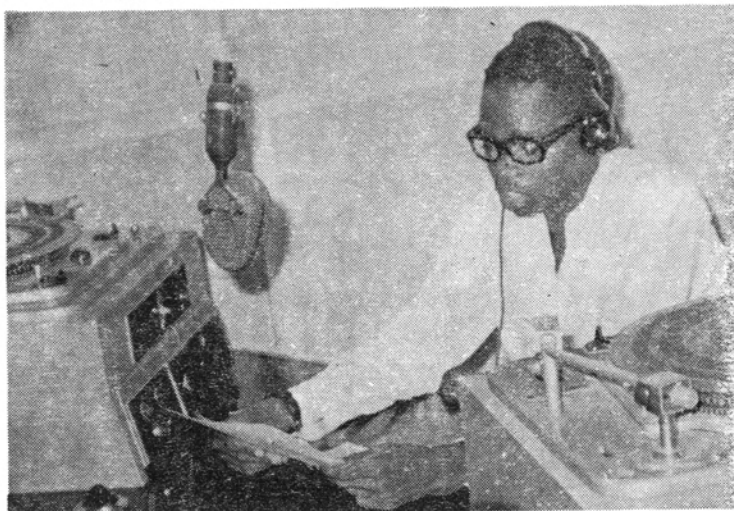
Radio continues to be the principal means of propaganda used by the colonialists against us.

FRELIMO has a radio programme for Mozambique transmitted through the External Services of Radio Tanzania everyday (for 45 minutes). In our broadcasts made in Mozam-

bican languages and in Portuguese, we explain to our people all the aspects of the development of our liberation struggle, we unmask the enemy propaganda and transmit the orders of the day of our organisation. We transmit revolutionary songs of the Mozambican people, interviews with fighters and commentaries on the national and international situation. For us particularly in view of difficult communication and because of illiteracy, radio is an extremely efficient way of mobilising the population. The main problem we face is lack of radios. FRELIMO is planning to launch a campaign to obtain radios for distribution in the liberated areas.

Hereunder follows an extract from one of our political educational broadcasts (translated).

Comrades!



Ever since we began our people's liberation war, we have been the target of extensive campaigns of hatred, slander, denunciation and lies. The American imperialists, the Portuguese colonialists, traitors like Lazaro Kavandame all hate our people's war, the war that serves the interests of the people and the revolution.

But why? Why do reactionaries who hate the Portuguese, hate also what we are doing? Why do American imperialists, who declare themselves against colonialism, hate the people's war of liberation from colonialism.

The answer is very simple. Indeed it has already been given – the people's war serves the interests of the people. Thus it destroys not only the colonial interests, but also those of imperialism and also the power and interests of the new exploiters.

We have seen in Mozambique, in the liberated areas, even at the battle front, how reactionary Mozambicans hate the people's war. Because to wage a war of this kind it is necessary to mobilise the masses, to clearly define the enemy; it is necessary that the people understand exactly who they are fighting, why they are fighting, and what they are going to do when they seize power.

We have defined our enemy. The First and Second Congresses of FRELIMO and meetings of the Central Committee have clarified our understanding of the nature of the enemy. We know we are fighting against colonialism, against imperialism and against exploitation of man by man. We know that we are fighting against companies, against capitalists, against feudalists, and against the new exploiters. We are fighting all those who exploit our labour to get rich and who take advantage of our misery. We are not fighting against a people or a religion; we cannot fight against an oppressed people, we who are also oppressed. Between peoples there can only be a sentiment of friendship.


The Portuguese colonialists wanted us to attack all white people, to kill Portuguese civilians, women and children. They wanted this in order to create a wave of horror so as to better mobilise the Portuguese people against us, indeed to mobilise all people of good will and all human values. They wanted us to appear as cruel assassins, as terrorists and racialsists waging a racial war. But, on the contrary we have shown everyone, including the Portuguese people, that the only racialsists, terrorists and killers of the defenceless, the only ones who burn, pillage and torture are the Portuguese colonialists. Therefore, they hate the people's war because not only are they afraid of defeat, but also because they have been unmasked and presented to the world as they really are.

Imperialists also hate our war. We know what the companies really mean to us, what the rich stand for, who are the exploiters and capitalists, be they Portuguese, American, French, British, West German. It is they who want to set the Portuguese and Mozambican people against each other so they may then better exploit us both. Imperialists are not concerned about Portuguese domination. They thought that, with or without Portugal, they could continue exploiting Mozambicans, as they do some other independent countries. After all Portugal is herself an independent country, but this does not prevent imperialism from controlling her. However, we are aware of who our enemy is and what are his pillars of power. We have seen that the Sena Sugar Estates is British, that Gulf Oil, Hunt International and other oil companies are American, others are British, South African and French, that Japanese Companies want to steal our iron ore, Belgians our coal. We have captured weapons, aircraft and bombs made in the United States, Britain, Belgium, West Germany, not by the Portuguese. It is very important that we understand all these things if we are to win the war.

The imperialists were not worried when we started fighting, but when they realised that we understood all about them and were also fighting them, they started to hate our war, and FRELIMO, and they redoubled their support for the colonialists. And along with the colonialists they are being defeated

Reactionaries like Lazaro Kavandame and the new exploiters hate the war. To pursue successfully a people's war we have to mobilise our people so that we all become politically conscious, so that we develop a class consciousness of the workers and oppressed. We fight to give power to the people, so that the government of Mozambique may belong to our workers, peasants, forced labourers, our revolutionary intellectuals and fighters. Power will belong to all of us and will be used exclusively for our benefit. Power will not be used to enrich the rich or to allow the exploitation of workers. The new exploiters were expecting that we would expel the Portuguese merely to replace them with people from our own ranks, that we would pass from an exploiter with a white skin to an exploiter with a black one, a white company director by a black, allow a black merchant to steal from the people instead of a white. But we will not let this happen. And now that they know this the new exploiters hate the people's war.

But to be hated by our enemy is not a bad thing, because it shows that we are on the right course. Our great leader Eduardo Mondlane was hated by the enemy and they killed him. The traitor Kavandame is loved by the enemy who build him up and broadcast his propaganda, but our people hate him because they know what he represents. And we love Eduardo Mondlane, because he was a great leader of our people's war.



LAZARO KAVANDAME APRESENTOU-SE AO GOVERNO PORTUGUÊS, PORQUE A FRELIMO ATRAIÇOOU OS MAKONDES.

O GOVERNO PORTUGUÊS PERDOOU A LAZARO, POR SABER QUE LAZARO NÃO QUER MAIS A FRELIMO EM TERRA DE MAKONDES

← Este é o retrato de Lázaro Kavandame tirado em Porto Amélia

AQUI, VAI CARTA, EM PORTUGUÊS, IGUAL A QUE LAZARO ESCRIVE COM A SUA LETRA DO OUTRO LADO DESTA PAPEL.

A minha apresentação às Autoridades Portuguesas.

Fui muito bem recebido pelas mesmas, nomeadamente, Secretário Geral, Comandante Chefe das Forças Armadas, Governador do Distrito de Cabo Delgado e muitas outras altas individualidades.

Com os membros do Governo tratei para acabar com a guerra na parte dos Macondes. Eles ajudar-nos-ão em tudo o que for necessário. Teremos os nossos Superiores os quais ajudar-nos-ão a pôr lojas e haverá toda a espécie de progresso.

A Frelimo atraíçou os Macondes. A Frelimo vai acabar na parte dos Macondes. Sai todos do mato e ide apresentar-vos nos Postos ou Circunscrições mais próximas, pois aí sereis bem recebidos e colocados na terra onde nascesteis.

Toda a pessoa que vier apresentar-se será bem recebida, seja a do povo, soldado ou que vivam em países estrangeiros.

Frelimo acabou da nossa parte e a guerra também vai acabar. É o velho Lázaro que o diz e manda para bem do nosso povo.

Estes são os pedidos aos "chairmen" e a maioria do nosso povo para que a nossa tribo volte à paz deixando assim os sofrimentos e a morte.

Isto que eu vos digo é toda a verdade, pois que já tratei com o Governo.

Sai do mato confiantes porque todo o problema foi resolvido e sereis bem recebidos.

Estou certo de que todos vós Macondes cumprireis estas palavras e que nos havemos de encontrar dentro em breve, nas terras que abandonamos na troca pelo mato.

Morra a Frelimo.
Vivam os Macondes Portugueses.
Cumprimentos a todos os Macondes

Lázaro Kavandame

O GOVERNO PORTUGUÊS QUER TRABALHAR COM LAZARO PARA AJUDAR OS MAKONDES. FAZ COMO LAZARO. APRESENTA-TE QUE O GOVERNO RECEBE BEM.

PASSA PALAVRA DO PERDÃO DO GOVERNO E DAS ORDENS DE LAZARO KAVANDAME. TODOS OS DIAS LAZARO KAVANDAME VAI FALAR PARA OS MAKONDES

OUVE NO RÁDIO A VOZ DE MOÇAMBIQUE
MORRA A FRELIMO VIVA LAZARO KAVANDAME
VIVAM OS MAKONDES PORTUGUESES

A hundred thousand copies of this leaflet were dropped by Portuguese aircraft in the Province of Cabo Delgado as part of the propaganda campaign aimed at undermining FRELIMO mass support.

The text of the leaflet contains an exhortation by the traitor Lazaro Kavandame, urging the Makondes to desert from FRELIMO and surrender to the Portuguese:

«FRELIMO betrayed the Makondes. FRELIMO is going to finish among the Makondes. All you Makondes must come out of the bush and present yourselves at the nearest post, where you will be well received.

«FRELIMO is finished and the war is going to finish: it is me, Old Lazaro, who says and orders this, for the good of our people...

Death to FRELIMO.

Long live the Portuguese Makondes.»

The leaflet concludes:

«Tell everybody that the Portuguese government is ready to forgive. Tell them also about the words of Lazaro Kavandame. Everyday Lazaro will speak to the Makondes. Listen to the Radio Programme The Voice of Mozambique.»

As we explain in the above article, the political maturity of the Mozambican people enables them to fully understand the meaning of the traitor Lazaro's words, and his motivations: since his defection, the liberation struggle has been stepped up in Cabo Delgado, Niasa and Tete.

STREAMLINED EXPLOITATION

Caetano calls it 'autonomy'

In his recent address to the Portuguese National Assembly, Prime Minister Caetano included a statement that greater 'autonomy' was forthcoming for the Portuguese «Overseas Provinces». We are used to hearing such statements, which do not normally deserve our attention. However, it appears that a section of the international public has interpreted the recent remarks as an indication of the liberalisation of Portuguese policies at home and abroad under Caetano. In order to avoid the spread of such illusions, we feel compelled to draw attention to the reality of what Caetano actually said. In that way it can be appreciated that *the Portuguese idea of 'autonomy' for Mozambique is a far cry even from the conventional definition of the right of internal self-government, let alone implying possibilities of independence.*

«RENOVATION IN CONTINUITY»

continuation of past policies

At a glance at Caetano's speech shows that he specifically affirmed that the 'autonomy' of which he spoke was a continuation of past policies. His main theme is well summarised in his phrase «renovation in continuity». He stresses that the 1933 constitution must be maintained because nearly 40 years of experience has shown that it works (in Portugal's interest). To keep it functioning, revisions and reforms must be introduced as circumstances dictate. This was precisely what was intended by his predecessor, Salazar, architect of the 1933 constitution and of the permanent integration of the colonies into the Portuguese structure. According to article 148 of that constitution, «the overseas provinces shall be guaranteed the right of administrative decentralisation and financial autonomy in conformity with the Constitution and with their state of development and resources.»

The «Administrative decentralisation» that has now been given extra emphasis by Caetano has already been underway for some years. The 1963 Organic Law provided for greater representation in the local organs, more power for those organs, and greater intervention of the provinces in the direction of national policy. The territories were given representation in the Corporative Chamber and the Overseas Council, while their own legislative councils were made more representative of local white Portuguese interests. An Economic and Social Council was established in Mozambique and Angola to assist the Governor-General in his legislative functions. That was about as far as the 'autonomy' went in Mozambique, and that is precisely the situation that forced the people of Mozambique to take to arms!

The proposals announced by Caetano differ very little from the 'autonomy' of local administration that has already been applied by Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. There is a suggestion of greater responsibility for local legislative and advisory organs; and since it is not specified what those organs should be they are presumably the ones that exist at the moment — namely, the Legislative Council, the Social and Economic Council, and the Governor-General. In effect, the new measures are a continuation of past attempts to spread administrative responsibility — no more than a simple exercise in improving the efficiency of colonial rule.

Caetano assured the National Assembly that 'autonomy' had no connection with independence for the colonies now or in the future. On the contrary, the rationalisation of administration through decentralisation aimed at a more efficient integration of the colonies with Portugal. He referred to his own remarks made on the recent visit to the unliberated portion of Mozambique, when he placed local autonomy in the context of a «lucidly understood *integration* of the colonies with Portugal». In his National Assembly speech, Caetano went on to affirm that the sovereignty of the Portuguese unitary state «which is unique and indivisible» will not cease to affirm itself through the whole national territory through the supremacy of the constitution and of laws emanating from the central organs, and through the appointed governors who are delegates of the central government and whose right of inspection and superintendence are kept unchanged. Moreover he added, the political administrative organs of those territories «do not have their own authority: they exercise the political power of the (Portuguese) State».

It is clear that any enthusiasm towards Caetano's speech, based on the assumption that it has an underlying implication of eventual end to the colonial regime, is quite unfounded. Whatever changes may be voluntarily introduced now or in the future by the Portuguese government would merely constitute administrative streamlining, supporting the fiction that the colonies are a part of Portugal and facilitating the further exploitation of Mozambique by Portugal and its NATO allies.

THE WHITE SETTLER PROBLEM

Despite lip service to «African participation», local autonomy caters to the interests of the Portuguese settlers — in addition to Portuguese metropolitan interests. The Mozambique Legislative Council has 27 elected members of whom only 3 are elected indirectly by «indigenous authorities».

The white settlers who service the extractive colonial eco-

nomies of Mozambique, are resentful of restrictive control from a capital thousands of miles away. Signs of their discontent have been apparent in Mozambique and Angola. In 1969 in Angola, there was growing criticism of the Portuguese concept of economic integration. The complaint was that political decisions were taken in Portugal, giving priority to «national interests» at the expense of the settlers in the colonies. Just before the last elections in Portugal, the Economic Association of Angola sent a petition to the Portuguese government suggesting that there should be immediate reorganisation of the administrative structures of the overseas territories in the direction of decentralisation coupled with more Angolan representation in the central organs in Portugal. There were similar rumours that there was a UDI-type movement in existence. Presumably, the 'autonomy' has been given such prominence by Caetano in an effort to satisfy most of the resentment of the white settler population in Angola and Mozambique.

DOMESTIC CRISIS AND PORTUGUESE COLONIAL POLICY

The recent developments and Portugal's colonial policies as a whole cannot be examined in a vacuum, as though they concerned simply the relationship between the metropolis and the colonies. They must be seen in the light of the Caetano government's overall policies, both international and domestic.

The Portuguese Fascist government is concerned with growing discontent and unrest at home. Caetano spoke of «dangers which threaten society», which he attributed partly to emigration and returned emigrant workers who brought back «bad habits». Then he openly admitted that one of the factors of economic and social instability in Portugal was the growing hostility to the colonial wars. The persistence and success of the national liberation movements in the colonies engenders pressure on the government to change its «overseas policy». The increased decentralisation is a characteristic double-faced response of Fascism to internal and external pressures. On the one hand, greater administrative responsibilities in the colonies will allow the Portuguese government to devote more attention to domestic problems (invariably along repressive lines) and yet at the same time it may befuddle some Portuguese at home and in the colonies to feel that something new is in the offing - and thereby boost their morale, which is at a low ebb.

ADMISSION OF FAILURE

As with the American War of aggression in Vietnam, so with the Portuguese war of oppression in Africa, the need arises to quell discontent at home by one means or another and raise morale for prolonging the dirty war to stifle other people's liberties. In the speech in question, Caetano observed that those who thought that the military aspect of the colonial campaigns were the most important were wrong. Instead, he urged that «what counts is the number of people alive who our protection, our psychological action, together with the benefits of the administration succeed in maintaining firm and tranquil in

their fidelity to Portugal». Consequently, the classical weapons of war must give way to modern ones, aimed at «impressing and persuading the spirit».

The above observation is particularly interesting, coming so soon after the recent massive offensive of the Portuguese in Mozambique. There could be no more authoritative indication that this was a failure. Moreover, the Portuguese army can never defeat the FRELIMO forces for precisely the reason given by Caetano. If strength of manpower and fire-power were the decisive factors we would have defeated long ago. No, the reason is that our great strength lies in our base among the people. With their support, cooperation and direct participation in the struggle, we cannot be defeated and the Portuguese know this. That is why they are currently placing so much emphasis on the creation of «psychological action units» among the army, and stepping up their propaganda efforts. What is doubly significant is that the Prime Minister of Portugal should consider this important enough to stress in a speech concerning details of more «self-rule» for the colonies. The connection is not coincidental - it is part of imperialist psychological warfare which has elevated deceit into a science.

INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

As part of the psychological war, it is in Portugal's interest to spread abroad the idea that 'autonomy' means more than it really does. Despite his assertion that the government will not be disturbed by external criticisms, it is clear that Caetano and the Fascist clan in Portugal are unsettled by growing international hostility. The section of Western European public opinion sympathetic to the cause of African liberation, lies within the ranks of students and progressives, but it has been vocal and organised enough to prevent the capitalists of several countries from joining Portugal and South Africa on the Cahora Bassa project. This must be very worrying since Portugal has high hopes of joining these capitalists in the European Common Market.

The final item in Caetano's speech which must not escape attention is the question of Portuguese entry into the European Common Market. He hinted strongly that the decision had been taken to do everything possible to gain entry. The issue has been a source of considerable debate over the past year, the main point of contention being the position of the colonies. Since Portugal always maintained that the colonies were part and parcel of the Portuguese state there would presumably have to be some special provision for them - provisions of the kind for which the former French and British territories were not eligible. It is unlikely that this would be accepted by the other members, and yet it was vital for Portugal to join because British entry into the Common Market would mean the end of the European Free Trade Association, whose concessions towards Portugal are one of the mainstays of the country's economy. The policy of 'autonomy' and decentralization helps to solve the impasse by superficially reducing responsibilities in the colonies, while at the same time maintaining full control in the last resort, in keeping with Portugal's fundamental policy of a unitary state extending itself in Europe and Africa.

